2: Stirling--1 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 133

"In general the country is mountainous, as it includes the lower slopes of the eastern Andes to the point where they fall away into the vast Amazonian plain. Parts of this great stretch of territory are comparatively level, particularly in the lower valley of the Sangiago. Lying as it does just below the Equator, the region is one of heavy rainfall and the entire country is cloaked with a dense tropical jungle. For the most part the climate is healthful and, considering the latitude, the temperatures are fairly cool. Travel is difficult and disagreeable during the rainy season, which extends from March until October. Travel overland is by means of rough foot trails, while the rivers, which in large part are navigable by canoes, form the principal avenues of travel. Conditions in this respect have apparently changed but little since the first of the Conquistadores set foot in Jivaro country."

5: Reyes and Teran--45-47 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133

"The surface elevation of this immense region [JKM: Ecuadorian province of Oriente] varies from about 4,000 meters--average height of the eastern cordillera of the Andes--down to about 120 or 100 meters in the region of the Amazon. The general slope indicates the direction followed by the tributaries of the great river, which is commonly from northwest to southeast.

According to almost all the geographers who have analyzed it [GCB: the Cordillera Real], the numerous outliers or branches which spread out from it, [46] act as dividing lines for the rivers which form our [GCB: Ecuadorian] principal river systems of the Oriente. Thus, the cordillera of Pisambilla divides the basins of the Coca and the Aguarico, tributaries of the Napo; just as the cordilleras of Galeras and Guacamayos divide the basins of the Coca and Napo. [GCB: In the same way] the Llanganati extend between the Napo and the Pastaza; the cordillera of Sangay between the Palora and the Upano; that of Logrono between the Upano and the Paute or Namangosa; that of Yahuarsongo between the Paute and the Zamora, and that of the Condor between the Santiago and the Chinchipe.

Between these outliers, which range in elevation from 2,000 to 3000 meters, are enclosed valleys and plains which constitute the most advantageous part of the Amazon basin. In this zone are located almost all the settlements and ranches of our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Oriente. Below these outliers, [47] begins the uniform plain which loses

itself in the Amazon, where neither the climate nor the composition of the soil permits men to settle."

5: Reyes and Teran--59-61 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133

"Basin of the Pastaza

This river forms another hydrographic basin which, with that of the Tigre, composes our [GCB: Ecuadorian] Central Oriente. The Pastaza, which collects the waters of two interandean basins--the Patate and the Chambo--opens to the east of Ambato the deepest breach in the Cordillera Oriental. This breach undoubtedly constitutes the best route to gain access to the heart of the forest and the best field of study for the geologist who desires to become acquainted with our remarkable volcanic phenomena. To the north of the Tungurahua river, the Pastaza runs between walls of modern lavas, forming narrow channels and cataracts, like the bed of the Agoyan, so that this Cyclopean sweep well deserves the name of an heroic current up to the point [60] where it reaches the plain and directs itself toward the southeast.

On its left side, the Pastaza receives the waters from the Topo river (which descends from the Llanganati), and the waters of the Puyo, Bobonaza and Pinda rivers, which have their sources in the eastern sierras of Mera. And on the right side, in return, the Pastaza receives the Lusin and Palora rivers, which descend directly from the Andes, and the Huasaga, which arises in the same forest. While the current of the Pastaza is rather fast, the river is navigable for about 430 kilometers, up to [GCB: the town of] Andaos; but steamboats can ascend only as far as Huasaga (190 kilometers). The mouth of the river is about 402 kilometers to the west of Iquitos.

5: Reyes and Teran--59-61 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-2
116, 133

The Tigre, which is also included in the Central Oriente, has its sources at some distance from the Andes, so that it may be regarded as solely a river of the plains. From its left side it receives the Pucacuro river, and from its right the Corrientes. The Tigre is at some distance from our [GCB: Ecuadorian] centers of settlement, for which reason we do not know [61] much about its geographical characteristics. Few rivers like the Tigre have a better bed for navigation; steamboats can ascend it without danger as far as Piedra, 593 kilometers from its mouth."

"The Basins of the Morona and Santiago

These two complex hydrographic basins form what we might call the Eastern Oriente, or more properly, the Oriente Azuayo, because further to the south we still have to deal with the basin of the Chinchipe, which despite its easterly position, cannot be included in this group because of special characteristics which necessitate a separate study. The Morona, navigable for about 300 kilometers, has its source at the Macuma on the heights called Cutucú which divide the waters of the Upper Pastaza and the Santiago, a few hours to the northeast of Macas. [62]

Like the Tigre, the Morona is detached from the Andes, and its character is clearly that of a plains river. From the same cordilleras of Cutucú arises the Morona's main tributary, the Mangosisa, which, united with the Miazal, forms the Unda-Mangosisa; from the confluence of this river with the Macuma, (on which is located Puerto Proano, 555 kilometers from the Amazon), is formed the real Morona, which offers easy navigation, since its course is not marked by sharp drops.

The Santiago embraces a complex hydrographic network whose remote sources are quite distant from the true Santiago, the name by which it is known only well within the forest. It is formed by the [GCB: confluence] of the Paute and Zamora rivers, which collect the waters from the interandean basins of Cuenca and Loja, which in return receive immense tributaries. The Paute, once free of the cordillera, where it is preferably known as the Namangosa, unites with the Upano, a much larger stream which

rises in the Laguna Negra, [63] on the Macas-Riobamba pass. Located at the junction of these two rivers is the flourishing settlement of Mendez.

The valley of the Upano is astonishingly fertile and holds the most important eastern settlements. The Zamora, in forming its great northern convexity as it seeks the Paute (or Namangosa) follows a general direction contrary to that of the great eastern rivers. On its left margin it receives the Yacuambi, the Bomboiza and the Gualaquiza, which carry down a good quantity of gold from the high, cold regions of Matanga or of Shingata. On these streams are the rich placer mining locations which have attracted so many miners to the Oriente Azuayo.

The navigation and importance of the Santiago as a route of descending to the Marañón river are the subject of much controversy, for between the mouth and the navigable channel of this great river are two major obstacles--the pongo [GCB: narrow and dangerous rapids] of Chico and that of Manseriche; moreover, both tributaries--the Paute and the Zamora--run exceedingly swift gorge-like channels for most [64] of their length."

5: Reyes and Teran--66-68 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 133, 502

"Navigation [GCB: of the eastern Amazon] really begins at the end of the pongo of Manseriche, east of the mouth of the Santiago river, where once was located the old Spanish settlement of Borja, capital of the famous province of Mainas....Becoming as narrow as 30 meters in these gorges, the river is proportionately widened on the plain as each voluminous tributary pours into it from one or the other of its banks. [67] La Condamine estimated that its width at the village of Omaguas, between the Tigre and the Nanay rivers, was 765 meters, and he did not find its depth to be more than 100 fathoms. At the mouth of the Napo its width was calculated by the same authority as 1,840 meters, while the width of the mouth of this tributary was fixed at 1,250 meters. But these dimensions vary considerably with the crecidas [freshets]; it is then that an immense zone along its muddy sides, reaching about 5 kilometers in width, is covered by its waters. As the river subsides, the water still remains in the concavities of the terrain, and sometimes forms brazos [arms] which contain islands, or sometimes forms numerous lagoons, which in periods of dryness remain isolated from the running waters.

The possibilities of navigation along the [GCB: eastern] Amazon increase or diminish according to whether one is concerned with the dry period or the period of the freshets. In the former, steamers can ascend only as far as the mouths of the Morona, and in the latter, [68] somewhat farther east, as far as old Borja. The two settlements

of major importance along the northern banks of the great river are Iquitos, at the mouth of the Nanay, and Nauta, between the mouth of the Nanay and that of the Tigre. By law and by geographic necessity, Ecuador can never renounce access to this section of the Amazon."

12: Rivet--337-338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133

The Jîbaro country is crossed by three great watercourses which run nearly parallel in a general N.N.W.-S.S.E. direction and enter the Amazon on the left bank. In going from West to East, these are: the Santiago, formed by the joining of the [338] Upano River (1), which originates on the southern slopes of the Sangay volcano, renowned for its constant activity, and the Paute River, or Namangasa River, coming from the plains of Cuenca, and with the Zamora River, which drains the waters of the Loja Valley; the Morona, whose origins are found to the north and northeast of the village of Macas; and finally the Pastaza, formed by the Chambo River descending from the region of Riobamba and by the Rio Patate coming from the region of Ambato, which, meeting at the northern foot of the Tunguragua Volcano, cross the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes through an enormous gap.

1. I accept here the opinion of the Dominican Father Vacas Galindo, who has lived in Macas for a number of years as a missionary and who has just published on behalf of the Ecuadorian government a very interesting map of the republic of Ecuador on a scale of 1: 1,500,000: Mapa Geografico-historico de la Republica del Ecuador, by Rev. Father Fray Enrique Vacas Galindo. Quito, 1906, chez Henry Barrère, 21, rue du Bac, Paris. Wolf, on the contrary, admits that the Upano forms the Morona: Carta geografica del Ecuador by Dr. Teodoro Wolf, 1:445,000: Geographic Institute of H. Wagner and E. Debes. Leipzig, 1892.

12: Rivet--352 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133, 161

Macas in 1890 had a population of 350 "macabéos" (1), a name given generally to the white settled in these eastern regions. It is situated a little ways from the right bank of the Upano, at an altitude of 1,051 meters, according to Reiss and Stubel (2).

---

1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Map 4, page 31.
2. Wolf, op. cit., p. 592.

12: Rivet--352[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133, 161

Gualaquiza is hardly more important; in 1875, there were only 100 whites in this village and 80 Jíbaros (1); in July, 1906, the Salesians counted more than 500 individuals of all races (2). It is built on the left bank of Gualaquiza River, which, ten kilometers lower, runs into the Bomboiza. The mean temperature is 22°5 and the altitude 730 meters (3).

As for Zamora, it is located on the right bank of the river of the same name, near its juncture with the Bambuscara. Although I have been unable to procure any exact information, one can surely state that this village is even smaller than Gualaquiza.

---

1. Cordero, op. cit., page 28-29.
2. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May, 1907.
3. "Carta del misionero Salesiano D. Jacinto Pancheri", published in the newspaper El Republicano of Quito, Nos. 94, 98, 106 and 117, 1893-94.

18: Hermessen--435 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 133, 642

"Rising in the western foothills of the Cordillera Oriental the Rio Zamora flows through Loja, where it is joined by the Rio Malacatos. (5) Ten miles farther north, in confluence with the Rio de las Juntas, it breaks through the Andes and enters the province of Oriente, the Amazon region of Ecuador, comprising a northwestern part of the basin of the great river. Vast in extent and largely unknown, unexplored and unmapped, this territory has always been a bone of contention among the republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. But although the particular portion of it which I visited, on a reconnaissance of the Rio Zamora, was supposedly under the sovereignty of Ecuador, no evidence of administrative authority was to be found there, nor did the savages of the Jibaro tribe who live there acknowledge allegiance to the government at Quito."

"5. Not to be confused with another river of the same name, rising at Cajanuma on the Pacific side of the Cordillera Occidental and discharging into the Rio Catamayo, which latter, under the name of the Rio de la Chira, reaches the sea near Payta, Peru."

20: Dyott-149-150 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116. 133

"The topography of the surrounding country, and the geographical position we occupied in the world, are worth commenting upon, because practically every map I have seen of Ecuador shows this area incorrectly. Macas, for instance, is placed at the head waters of the Morona instead of the Santiago, the Upano being an affluent of the latter stream. In a way, such errors can be understood, because the whole grouping of hills and rivers in this part is contrary to what one might expect.

Macas lies between two ridges of thickly forested hills. To the west, there is a fairly high range which reduces its elevation as it extends south, cutting the Marañon at the Pongo de Guaracayo. To the east, another range of hills springs out of the plains north of Macas, without any connecting link between it and the main cordillera of the Andes. These hills bow slightly eastward, reach their maximum development almost due east of Macas, and then maintain their altitude fairly steadily all the way south to the Pongo de Manseriche. The Morona rises east again of this ridge to the north of Macas, away from the Andes; or more correctly at the base of a very low spur running out from Sangai in a more or less north-easterly direction. The valley of the Morona is more unhealthy than that of the Santiago. The Pastaza River lies still further east again, beyond the Morona. One of its principal affluents, the Palora, cuts in back of the low spur ridge where the Morona rises, describes a circular sweep about the northern and western slopes of Sangai and rises on the south flank of the great volcano. A compass bearing taken on Sangai from Macas placed it at 42 1/2° west of north.

20: Dyott--149-150
116, 133

(no date) 1926

Jivaro-2

The magnetic declination for this locality according to Sinclair and Wasson, is 6°19' east. Mr. J. Sinclair, whose friendship I have the privilege of claiming, visited this district in 1921 with Mr. Wasson, and together they did some extraordinary survey work of great value. They [150] give the elevation of Macas as 3, 580 feet and that of Sangai as 17, 459."

20: Dyott--150
116, 133, 823

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"While on the question of elevations, I should point out that such spectacular wonders of the Ecuadorean scenery as Sangai and Tungurahua, can never be credited with any permanent elevation above sea-level because they are constantly changing, either building up or breaking down. With the cessation of activity, lava welling up from below starts solidifying in the crater. Ice and snow piles up on top of this again, until a more or less permanent condition results. Then comes a violent convulsion within the heart of the earth. The accumulation of years is blown sky-high and distributed over the countryside. When the dust clears away, behold 200 feet or more of the summit has gone.

The Indians we came in contact with regarded Sangai with awe and superstition. Some expressed the belief than when dead, they would go down into its fiery throat, but this we found out was one of the many absurdities implanted in the simple minds of their forefathers by those jolly missionary fellows at the time of the Spanish conquest. The Indian's real ideas of death are nothing like so prosaic as this."

6

Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

MICHAEL J. HARNER
University of California, Berkeley

THE Jívaro proper (*aulsuri tsaraʔ*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jívaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jívaro behavior.[2]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956–57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jívaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jívaro proper.[4]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jívaro: the Río Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Sepa; the Río Chigüasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jívaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *UtitI Ahoʔu*, *KugutI*, and *Unta Akaʔu* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Maʔu* of the upper Río Macuma; and *Hintaʔ* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuwyA*, *Tugi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp. 270-272 -Analyst]

/326 cont./

175 Only rarely have the Jívaros been visited by scholarly
177 travelers, so our knowledge of this tribe is based chiefly on Spanish reports. The most competent expert is probably Spruce, who lived for a long time in their region and penetrated farther
114 than most other travelers. In the case of a people so little known, I may dare to hope that the observations of a traveler whose studies were somewhat remote from ethnology will be of some interest despite their inadequacy and will secure me the indulgence of the honored assembly for the following remarks.

/327/

The bulk of the population of the republic of Ecuador lives in the high mountains of the Cordillera in the part of the range designated in Spanish America as tierra fria. Bleak and bare, the inhabited part of the highlands, in which most of the towns are located at a height between about 2,200 and 3,000 meters, is easily accessible for civilization. Rough, high mountain chains surround this not very productive land, whereas dense, immeasurable forests cover the eastern and western slopes of the Cordillera. To the west there is contact with the coast and the provinces found there, but a visit to the few settlements located on the eastern slope of the principal mountain chain has always been considered a difficult and daring undertaking. The dreaded East Cordillera must be crossed on the worst routes, and then there is a long march full of hardships through the forest, during which large rivers have to be crossed, the flooding of which often exposes the travelers to death from hunger. Mácas is probably the easiest of all these places to reach, since a quite considerable part of the way is passable by mule.

133 Riobamba, the capital of the Provincia del Chimborazo, is the point of departure for the journey. One follows upstream the Rio Chambo, coming from the south, which in its upper parts is called Rio de Cebadas and Rio Colay. The river, originating near the ridge of the East Cordillera, joins at the foot of the Tungurágua the Rio de Patate coming from the north, from Cotopaxi, and then, turning eastward, breaks through the Cordillera and flows

/327 cont./

133 to the Amazonas as the Rio Pastaza. Our route soon leaves the highland of Riobamba, formed by the masses from volcanic eruptions which fill the deep depression between the ridges of the east and west Cordillera, which were built up out of older rock. The bipartition of the Cordillera disappears almost completely. The river cuts through at Cebadas, the last village, on the dividing line between syenite and mica schist, and higher up its bed lies wholly in the latter rock. The higher we climb, the narrower and wilder the gorge becomes, cultivated fields disappear, and in their place comes the tall páramo grass, the ichu of the natives. Toward the end of the second day of travel there appear in the background of the valley high, jagged peaks whose black ridges and crests tower up out of blinding white snowfields. These are the Cerros de Zhasquin, Yanaurcu, and Púlpito, which represent here the highest elevations of the East Cordillera. Suddenly the character of the valley changes: the narrow gorge turns into a wide basin filled with swamps and lakes, surrounded on both sides by high greenstone cliffs, almost open toward the east, since an almost imperceptible rise forms the watershed between two small lakes, Cazadoracocha and Cocha redonda, the first of which, in conjunction with Colaycocha, is the source of the Rio de Jchubamba, whose valley we have followed to this point, whereas the latter drains to the east as a tributary /328/ of the Rio Upano. At the entrance to this flat highland valley, whose whole configuration reminds one of the lakes at the source of the Inn and along the Maloya Pass, there are a few wretched huts: Atillo, at an altitude of 3,452 meters, inhabited only from time to time. The lakes Colaycocha and Cazadoracocha are at about the same level, and the watershed extends only to a height of 3,548 meters, whereas the surrounding mountains tower to a
132 height of about 4,300 meters. This region is unbelievably desolate and dismal; wrapped in rain and clouds almost the whole year, only occasional stunted tree-like undertrush grows here among the large areas of grass; the trade winds blow icy cold the greater part of the year. An average annual temperature of 8.8° C. in a country located so close to the equator is evidence

/329 cont./

132 the ice-cold wind, often driving hail and snow in front of it.
136 Exhausted by the many vain attempts, they meet their death in the lake, piling up on its shores.

I crossed this pass in the best season, in the month of
132 December, but even then the Indians accompanying me, in
114 spite of the fact that all had been accustomed to mountain climbing for a long time, suffered from the penetrating cold and wetness.

One has hardly reached the end of the swampy highland
● 133 valley and climbed the low ridge to the side of the Cocha redonda when the whole scene changes abruptly. One stands at the edge of a steep cliff, over whose wall a brook flowing from the above-mentioned Cocha falls in a high waterfall, a deep gorge filled with dark-green forest lies at our feet, and stunted trees go up as far as the edge of the pass. One imagines the spicy air and mild temperature of the warm country and feels invigorated; even the Indian, already dejected and stiff with cold, takes fresh courage at the sight of the montaña, the land of wondrous fertility. One descends steeply in zigzag: along the cliff wall, the waterfalls are crossed several times, until the first valley floor is reached. The vegetation becomes more luxuriant with every step; we find ourselves in the zone which Pöppig portrayed so excellently in his description of the Ceja. We found Suñag (2,688 meters), a small village consisting of 15-20 wooden huts and a chapel, deserted; all the inhabitants had gone farther down the valley to harvest maize at Chanala (2,470 meters), Chillan, Puentehondo. The six or seven houses which make up the village of Paira (1,617 meters) lie two short days of travel farther down in the valley. The foot of the steep mountains has been reached here; only elongated hills continue to the east. The rivers, still rapid, to be sure, become broad and even navigable for short stretches;
491 an immense forest area stretches out before one's eyes. Up to here we found the brooks, which were difficult to cross, bridged over, although the liana bridges, serving as a model for our suspension bridges, sometimes offered crossings which appeared

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available tsantas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- often after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Many

/336 cont./ Mantel

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[734] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas
and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from
his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the
volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a
distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is some-
times maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottom-
less masses of ashes which prevent climbing. On the contrary,
the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation
of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea
level.

197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from
Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make them-
selves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used
as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher num-
ber concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained
interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of
making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts
were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American
parties. In all attempts of this type it was always only a matter
of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros
understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force.
If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I
have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy
themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does
not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our
cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and en-
dowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be
easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of
European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

102
101
133

MAP 1 /p. 11/

Jivaroan and neighboring tribes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

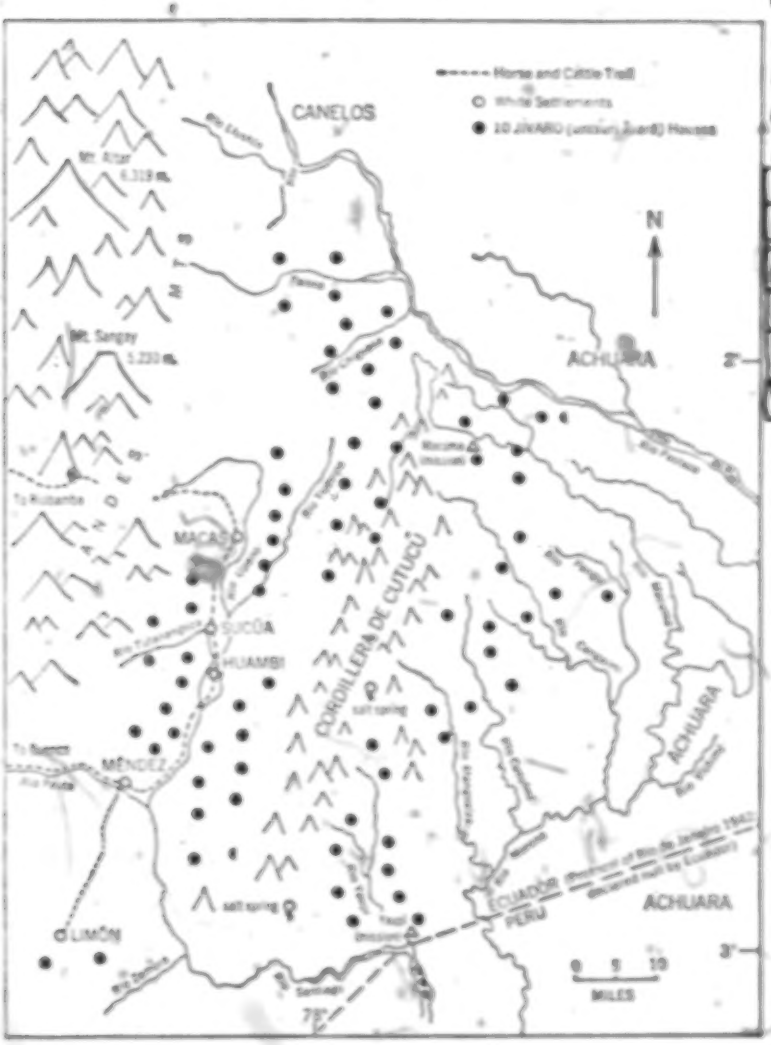
101 The term "shuara" (*šuarā*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apačī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri šuarā*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*ačuarā šuarā*) to the east. An alternative term, *nuraiya šuarā* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsuunu šuarā*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas šuarā*" or "*yukina šuarā*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call
128 them the "*patuka širan*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

/text continues on p. 16/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101
102
133 •
619
103
[135]
[563]
[648]
[487]
[361]
[797]



MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri huará*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

(approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows most of the region except for the southern extension along and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 3000 meters above sea level. There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jívaro territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upano and Paute valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jívaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguasa region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jívaro."[11] Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jívaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jívaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuara Jivaroans, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambisa Jivaroans.[12] Thus the Jívaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jivaro-White Contacts

Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jívaro were bounded on the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 133 J37 1. View of the middle Río Upano north of Huambi, looking eastward (1956–57).